1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

867 the correct adjustments early, naturally grows into a comparatively well-adjusted life, and so avoids the major conflicts to a much greater degree than is the case in our society. A very large proportion of those in conflict in present-day Umbundu society are de-tribalized or partially de-tribalized individuals, especially those who as children were brought up outside or largely outside the kinship groups. The large proportion of those brought up on the mission stations who are out of adjustment, and often in overt conflict, has been noticed by many observers. The biographies and autobiographies which I have collected witness clearly to the same fact, that most of the ill-adjusted individuals and those in overt conflict were products of an extra-tribal, de-tribalized, or non-traditional situation; while practically all of the well-adjusted persons were educated within the kinship system.

154 865 The three major conflicts which have been recognized in our society, that is, 'struggle', sex, and 'inferiority',[1] are all present in some form among the Ovimbundu. The adjustments by which they resolve these conflicts are distinctive.

Adjustments in anger by which the 'struggle conflict' is resolved are interesting and important educationally. The child is taught when quite young that the expression of anger is taboo.[2] Tantrums are rare among Ovimbundu children. Anger and ill-will are named by thoughtful Ovimbundu as the chief root-cause of sorcery. The more thoughtful ones also recognize these as an important cause of accusations of sorcery. Expression of anger is traditionally much feared. It is not desired in the character of the king.[3] Nowadays [177] there are more who give free vent to expressions of anger, but they are for the most part either individuals who imitate Europeans and who seek to discard Umbundu cultural habits and values; or they are those who are considered sorcerers, either by themselves or others. An Ocimbundu who as a child has learned traditional adjustments in anger will rarely allow his anger to break through the resistance and become 'extroverted' except in recognized outlets. These outlets are somewhat analogous to our own rationalizations of anger.[4]

154 578 The chief 'introverted' reaction of anger which I have noted

[1] The psychological analysis follows Allport, op. cit., chap. xiv.

[2] See *supra*, p. 101.

[3] See *supra*, p. 21.

[4] Cf. Allport, op. cit., p. 344. The Ovimbundu have not thought up such a high-sounding term as 'moral indignation' as a euphemism for anger.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

among the Ovimbundu is 'grudge-building'. This is probably fairly common and often eventuates either in sorcery or in suspicion of sorcery. There is special danger of this type of reaction between men and women who have an in-law relation to each other. This is probably a principal reason for the avoidance with which these relations are so carefully hedged and the respectful treatment mutually enjoined.[1] Grudges are sometimes inherited through several generations. According to folk-tales, children sometimes bear grudges against their parents for real or fancied ill treatment.[2]

Recognized outlets for anger in frankly 'extroverted' form are found in war and raiding parties, in the hunt, and in lawsuits. War is no longer resorted to but up to the present day anger still finds a recognized expression in actions at law. One of the commonest of such actions is the accusation of sorcery (*oku sunga owanga*) already touched upon above. Church councils and meetings have taken over some functions of the traditional courts of law and this is probably one reason for the decidedly stormy sessions which sometimes occur.

The importance of wit and humour as an outlet for anger has been recognized. 'The ability to turn one's anger into a jest goes with the trait of insight . . . and is sometimes appropriately called "the saving sense of humour".'[3] That the Ovimbundu have this ability and use it often and to good advantage is very much in their favour. May not this be one indication of a considerable degree of insight which many observers have noted in the Umbundu character?[4] I would not claim that the Ovimbundu have made any very remarkable attainments in the social control of anger: their achievements in that direction may be slight when compared to some of the more advanced peoples, as, for example, the Scandinavians, the Hollanders, or the English. What is remarkable, however, is that they have frankly recognized the necessity for such control more clearly than have some supposedly more advanced peoples.

Adjustments in family life are held to be resolutions of what are ultimately sex conflicts.[5] Marital adjustments are of prime

[1] See *supra*, pp. 57 ff.

[2] Cf. *Journal of American Folk-Lore Society*, 1922, vol. 35, no. 6, p. 123 f.

[3] Allport, op. cit., p. 344.

[4] Some writers have attributed to negroes a quality of 'insight' superior to that possessed by whites, cf. article 'Insight, &c.' in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1938.

[5] Allport, op. cit., pp. 345–53.